

Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,¹⁷³ who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut, brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription.

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

CHAPTER III.

THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad,⁷⁹² on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhuhed in the eighth year of the Hejira⁷⁹⁷ and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without¹⁷⁵

¹ The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mizzah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infelix*, p. 3.

² So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammad was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandal, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 462.

175 bloodshed, but they were only nominally converted. At that time
 792 there were five rulers, four kings and a queen, Jemid, Manhūs,
 797 Mashera, Abdh'a, and their sister Al 'Amureda.' (The Prophet
 corresponded with these rulers as he corresponded with other
 sovereigns.)

When Abu Bekr became Caliph the tribes in the Hadhramaut
 fell away from Islam, so Ziad² brought an army from Yemen
 and the Hejaz and killed the five rulers, after which Hadhramaut
 tribes again became followers of Islam and were loyal to the other
 Caliphs and at first to their successors the Omeiyads. But in
 A.H. 128 (A.D. 746) the tribes revolted against the Omeiyads as the
 ruler of Yemen, 'Amr Qasim Bin 'Umar Ath Thaqafi, tyrannized
 over them.

175 Hadhramaut tribes then became Ibadhis³ under Yahya bin
 'Abdulla, known as Talib Al Haqq, from Kinda, who ruled the
 tribes after their revolt against the Omeiyads. All Hadhramaut was
 then Ibadhi and for twelve years recognized no outside authority,
 killing anyone who came to rule over them. But in A.H. 140
 (A.D. 757) when the Abbasides were in power, Ma'n bin Zaida
 Ash Sheibani brought a large army from Yemen against them.
 He passed Henin and came to Furt al Hussein which lay between
 Henin and Qatn. Here the men of Hadhramaut met him and
 gave battle. They were defeated, 15,000 being killed including
 their ruler Talib al Haqq. Ma'n bin Zaida then ruled over the
 Hadhramaut under the Abbasides. Ma'n was a tyrant, and he

¹ The princes of the Hadhramaut bore the title of 'Abāhila.

² Ziad was the Governor of the Hadhramaut under Al Muhājir. About a year
 after the prophet's death, Al Muhājir set forth for South Arabia and in
 due course met 'Akrima, who had been sent to subdue the Mahra, at Ma'rib.
 The two chiefs then proceeded to the Hadhramaut where Ziad was holding the
 country with difficulty. He had made himself unpopular with the Beni Kinda by
 his exactions of tithes, and in one of his raids had carried off the families of a tribe.
 Al Ash'ath gathered the clans and rescued the prisoners after which, being com-
 promised, he raised the whole country against Ziad. At this moment Muhājir and
 'Akrima arrived and routed Al Ash'ath. At last in a desperate bid for personal
 safety Al Ash'ath offered to betray the remnant of his force. His terms were
 accepted and he was sent to Abubekr at Mecca. The Caliph spared his life and even
 allowed him to fulfil his marriage contract with his sister.

³ In the reign of the second Merwan. At this time the Khawarij had spread
 extensively over South Arabia and Iraq and were often strong enough to paralyze
 the Government. 'Abdulla bin Ibadh, founder of the Ibadhis, whose only date we
 know is A.D. 744, was active in Merwan's reign. He belonged to the Tamimi tribe.
 To-day the Ibadhis are still the rulers of Oman and of Zanzibar and there is a
 community of them in Morocco.

Masudi says, (VI, 67) that Merwan gave command of an army to fight the Ibadhis
 to 'Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin 'Atia as Sa'adi. "Abdul Malik marched the
 Syrian troops of Merwan against the Yemen. 'Abdulla bin Yahya al Kindi set
 out from San'a and the two parties met in the district of Taif in the territory of
 Jorah. There was a terrible battle which cost their lives to 'Abdulla and to the
 majority of the Ibadhis whom he commanded. The rest of the heretics took refuge
 in the Hadhramaut of which the population is almost all Ibadhi still in 332 of the
 Hejira. It does not differ in the way of beliefs from the Khawarij of Oman."

443 The Sultan of Lahej rules over the territory of the 'Abdali tribe, and
 425 his frontier marches with the northern frontier of Aden Colony. He is descended from a Yafa'i family, who were appointed as Governors of Lahej by an Imam of San'a. Later they revolted against the Imams and declared their independence. By purchase, Imamic grants and seizure they own a considerable portion of the Lahej lands; they are of foreign origin to the tribe over which they rule.

The Amirs of Dhala' were appointed Governors of the Dhala' province, including the lands of the tribes of Halumein, Ahmad, Azraq and Shu'Ar, by the Imamas of San'a, and, later, of the lands of Sha'ib by a Sultan of Turkey. I see that the official handbook describes the Amirs of Dhala' as descendants from slaves. It is surprising how such obvious
 527 accuracies persist. To see that they have no slave blood in them requires
 715 no more than ordinary eyesight, and it would be impossible for an Imam of
 144 San'a to appoint a slave to any post, since there are no slaves in the Yemen at all, slavery being forbidden by the tenets of the Zeidi sect. The Amirs are of typical Central Yemeni type, such as is found on the Yemen plateau.

643 Later, they rebelled against the Imams and established their independence. Thus they rule over a confederation of small tribes, while belonging to none of them.

These appointed Suzerains, of whom the Sultan of Makalla is one, form a distinct class among Arab Chiefs. They do not mix with their tribesmen in the usual democratic Arab way, but stand apart, as it were, and are addressed by titles of exaggerated respect. Not being tribesmen of the tribe they rule, they have no traditional and family holds over the people and their attitudes towards their tribesmen are those of foreign rulers. They do not, as a rule, favour elected hereditary headmen in their villages, but prefer to appoint outsiders as headmen, whom they pay as retainers.

When a Suzerain dies, the election of the new Chief is held by the family only and the tribesmen are not consulted.

622 The accepted Suzerains are represented by one example only—the
 792 Sharifs of Beihan. It is, however, an interesting example.

628 In Beihan there are settlements of Sharifs and of Seyyids. There are
 648 also two tribes among whom these holy men live. Both the Sharifs and the Seyyids are arms-bearing families, and for some time were divided by a feud. Before the Great War, the elected Chief of the Sharifs, a far-sighted man called Ahmad, negotiated a treaty of protection and friendship with Great Britain. In this he gained the support of the lower tribe and of half the upper tribe, which was divided by a feud. After the Great War he concluded a truce with the Seyyids, and consolidated his relationships with his supporters among the tribesmen, who amounted to three-quarters of the population of Beihan. They accepted him as Suzerain and as their general agent for dealing with their foreign affairs. Thus, while he is undoubtedly a Suzerain, he is one of limited authority. He does not claim taxes from the land or the trade except in his own settlements, and is, consequently, very poor. But, for all that, the influence of the Sharifs is considerable in all the Beihan area. Their position is not, of course, unique in Arabia, but it is doubtful if any others than holy men could find themselves in a similar one.

THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

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The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment. 622

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so. 643 622

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe. 628

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry 792 ●

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712 tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are
572 given tithes of other land by ancient right.
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712 The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they
778 claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a
346 white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs
are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine
these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced
by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a
roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more.
Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names,
however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such
names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a
pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for
archæology.

778 Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls
651 on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land
423 or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the
712 title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best
754 description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases
the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend
upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the
Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear.
I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint
and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the
power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity,
striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in
effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they
are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally
they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose
much of their power.

712 In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets.
778 They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they
are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have
little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate
include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and
Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We
[776] must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns
and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but
they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn
who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants
are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the
attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

712 All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at
[622] Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family
elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who
778 derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of
796 villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are,
I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or
782 Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court. 778
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Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer. 778
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In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed. 693
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When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of 671
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693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
577 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen
a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's
family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would
probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

325 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a
community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes
each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village
headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet
Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets'
tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within
their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their
own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who
give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is
often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by
ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from
his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit
a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has
frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investi-
gated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one
farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the
other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very
unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is
farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya
class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again
to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya
do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to
secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service
against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a
small class they are an important one, and few officials have given suf-
ficient study to their social position.

565 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal
sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to
sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not
entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans.
Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

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as far as I know, nothing written to define their position, but it is accepted that they can only use their position to influence their tribesmen, and that the rule of the tribe is that of the tribal council, which is drawn from all the heads of tribe and family, and is influenced by all strong personalities within the tribe as well as by the holy classes—the Seyyids and descendants of saints. The strength of rule which the Chief can impose depends, therefore, on how much he can influence the influential. By his own position he is not a ruler; he is a figurehead; and if his ancestors at one time could inspire respect and fear through their magical powers, he inspires neither, except through his own personality. By a reluctance to enforce his rule, even when he is assisted to do so, he shows that in some vague way he appreciates his peculiar hereditary position. Until the official understands this he will live in wonderland, where the Chief he wishes to assist blandly gives Government arms away to his enemies and then returns to demand equality of force with them and the assistance of aircraft to defend himself. But the official is dealing with the older thing, with a type of community which long ago ceased to have meaning or motive, but has preserved the ancient forms of its pagan birth.

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It is notable that the Imam does not attempt to rule the Yemen through hereditary tribal Chiefs. He rules, as his ancestors did, through appointed Governors of provinces, and these provinces often disregard tribal areas. It may be that the Yemen progressed beyond the Priest-Chief state of rule in the days of the kingdoms and under a succession of Governors never returned to it. I do not myself believe that the Mushreq has ever known other than tribal life and the rule of tribal councils and public opinion from the days of the Grand Council of Ma'an to the present day. The Yemeni parts of the Protectorate which are under Suzerains are governed after the Yemeni autocratic model. Here the tribal figurehead counts for very little, unless he is a strong personality and a favourite of the Suzerain. But the figurehead is still there for all the centuries of "foreign" rule.

It would seem that it is usual for the rule of Priest-Chiefs to be followed by that of tyrants. Perhaps it is that as trade develops some firmer kind of rule is needed than a vaguely conservative council under a Priest-Chief. The church, as it were, cannot keep the functions of the state. When it can it tries to endow every activity of the individual with a magical colour. It usually succeeds. But in South Arabia the religion was violently changed by a militant Christianity and after a few centuries by a militant Islam, and in the place of the old order, under which each man worshipped his tribal god, there came the new order of the conqueror and his appointed Governors. In this small strip of Arabia we are fortunate to be able to study both these types of rule as they react to contact with the modern world.

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Almost the whole world has been through the phase of passing from the rule of the Priest-King to that of the tyrant, and we are no exception. It would almost seem to be a necessary growing pain for the people to first be ruled by autocrats before they rule themselves. But it would be interesting, to us who have passed through this phase and who see ourselves on the frontiers of the wider democracy of our age, to dispense with this phase and to at once develop a government of truly democratic form

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi-tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 421 427 565 792 651 619 [972] 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood feud, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436



182 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last
 628 quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras
 411 carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease
 436 of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live
 has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood
 feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some
 • [79a] years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contraven-
 182 tion of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by
 671 Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small
 576 thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the
 183 gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of
 greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and
 friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the
 functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private
 relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the
 entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the
 weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the com-
 munity is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom
 without punishment the last security for the community has gone and
 chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre
 of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the con-
 federation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will
 break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The
 disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain un-
 checked.

182 I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into
 673 their confederations and have shown the course which these confederations
 728 are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in
 671 about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of
 Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule
 enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting 'Sharia' courts,
 [625] whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the auto-
 crat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the
 government is vested in one man with an educated point of view.
 Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is
 a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they
 000 reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when
 nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was
 crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the
 Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched
 the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the
 other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the
 Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other
 man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever
 came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more
 sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

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cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is⁴⁹¹ fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādi*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were⁷⁴¹ in Terim as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf⁷⁷¹. As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of¹⁸⁵ his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādi Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terim, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terim to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terim is the town for religion and learn-³⁶¹ ing; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make⁷⁷⁸ a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to^[782] attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the⁷⁸⁸ central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bir Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM

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When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-⁶²¹
 nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one ⁵⁶³
 has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of ⁴⁶³
 the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. ³⁶⁶
 If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque
 cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākin perform these duties of course,
 not the saiyids or mašā'ih. Apart from the occasions cited in a
 previous article⁸ another time when the quarter turns out is when
 a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen
 on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the
 quarter.

Each quarter has a tanšūrah (pl. tanāšir), a kind of rallying-song ⁶²¹
 or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its ⁵³⁹
 special tune. These tanšūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, ⁵³³
 festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men
 from the quarter assemble together. The tanšūrah may be compared
 in some respects with the tribal šarḥah and 'arwah⁹ examples of
 which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some
 of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarīm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḥ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, || — | — — — ∪ | — — — ∪

لَنَا التَّرَايِدُ وَفِينَا الْوَرَايِدُ

Metre : Radjāz type, || — | — ∪ — — | — ∪ — ∪

وَشَيْخُنَا الْمَحْفَارُ مَعَنَا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
 And our Šaiḥ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are
 independent of each other though given me as a single tanšūrah.
 The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḥ is greater in numbers than any
 other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated
 Tarīmī saint. [792]

⁸ *The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.*

⁹ C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

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b. Metre : Ramal-type, || — | — — ∪ — | — — ∪ —

شَيْخَنَا الْمُحَضَّرَ يُظْفَى النَّارَ

« Our Šaiḥ al-Miḥdār puts out the fire. »

This is a *radjas* or *sāmīl* known as *radjaz hābbah*, or «jingle used by a party of men at the trot». It would be sung after a fire had been extinguished. It should be noted that extinguishing of the fire is attributed to the patron saint of the quarter, and one can with justification see in this the survival of some ancient pagan ceremony.

c. Metre : Basit type.

||-|-v-|-v-|-|-v-|-v-|-

وَالشَّيْخُ وَاللَّهُ عَمَرَ يَا سَعْدُ مَنْ كَانَ شَيْخَهُ

« By the Šaiḥ, by God, 'Umar, O the good fortune of him whose šaiḥ he is. »

This radjaz (jingle) is also used in trotting.

d. Metre : Bani Mighrah ¹⁰.

||---v|---v|---v|---v

عَمَرَ مَخْضَارٌ فِي كُلِّ حَبَّةٍ نَهْتَرِي بِهِ

وَرَأْسَ الْخَفْمِ لِي قَدْ عَصَبْنَا بَيْنَ جِيَّةِ

« 'Umar al-Mihdār, in every matter we shout for assistance to him.

And the head of the foe whom we have made up our mind (to attack) we shall bring ¹¹. »

10 I have named this metre Bani Mighrā because it seems to be invariably used in the poems which begin with this phrase. The Bani Mighrā poem is the traditional hunting song of Ḥadramawt; it is discussed at length in my *Prose and Poetry from Hadramaut*.

11 LANDRUM, *Gloss Dict.*, « prononcer le cri de ralliement de la tribu, crier ». My informant said it meant « to seek assistance from. » For he gave the synonym أراد. One can say *عينا إليه* equivalent to *نينا إليه* « We want to go to the Maallah ». In the « oath of denial » (afsw, I think that the first two verbs must have the fundamental sense of « binding and loosing » *ين جبهه* is equivalent to *نينا نجهه* .

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It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Mihdār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi notwithstanding.

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula :

لَا عَمَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا عَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper¹². »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār).

2. Ahl al-Ḥilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—u—|—u—|—u—|

الْيَوْمَ جُنَّةٌ وَعَدْوَةٌ مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومُ الْقِيَامَةُ كُلُّهَا
عِبْرَةٌ! وَذَا مَسَاءُ

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wā-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

¹² The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

b. Metre :

Perhaps || — — — — — مُسْتَفْعِلٌ فَعُولٌ

قَدْ قَنَصْنَا الصَّيْدَ فِي رُبُوعَةٍ

شَيْخَنَا عَلِيّ بن مُحَمَّد

« We have hunted the game in its lairs (or mountain-sides).
Our šaiḥ is 'All bin Mihimmid. »

This taṣṣūrah has no small interest when it is recalled that the ritual hunt played an important part in the pre-Islamic religion of this part of Arabia, especially the hunting of the ibex¹⁴. The first half-verse is commonly sung by *all* the quarters of Tarīm, and is even used by the people of the ḥawṭah of Thibī not far away. Šāḥ 'Alī bin Muḥammad is a saint of the Āl Ḥaṭīb family, known as Šāḥib al-Wi'il, i.e. « He of the Ibex ». Once, on the occasion of a feast, either the lesser or the greater 'Īd, he had no animal to slaughter by way of celebration, but on returning home from the mosque he found an ibex standing by his door. This was evidently a miracle performed on his behalf. Šāḥ 'Alī is the patron saint of al-Ḥilaif, and is buried in the cemetery of al-Furāṭ¹⁵. The chief mosque of the quarter is Miḥḥid al-Wi'il, and at one time when, owing to the dissension between three sections of the Yāfi'i rulers, Tarīm was divided into three territories with three separate djāmi' mosques, the Miḥḥid al-Wi'il was used for the Friday prayer; this took place about a century ago.

No doubt this *tanṣūrah* would be used by parties of hunters returning from the ibex-hunt as I have described in the preface to my book on Ḥaḍrami popular verse.

3. Hārat al-Sahīl

The people of this quarter mention their saint, an 'Aidarūs saiyid who is buried in Tāribah, but I have no further particulars about their tansūrah. They about

19 Variant: شَمُوبِي.

14 Cf. A. BENTON, *The Ritual Hunt*, Le Muséon, LXI, 3-4, pp. 183-96.

15 For this cemetery see *The Cemeteries of Tarim*, op. cit.

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Metre : Ramal, || — — — — | — — — —

شَيْخَنَا عَلَوِي بْنُ أَحْمَدَ

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4. Al-Nuwaidarah

The patron saint of al-Nuwaidarah is Šihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī bin Abī Bakr al-Sakrān¹⁶. [792] •

5. Ḥārat al-Ḥawī

The tanšūrah of this quarter mentions the saint of the ḥawṭah Šaiḥanā al-Ḥaddād, i.e. the celebrated saint and author 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaddād who is also known beyond the confines of Ḥaḍramawt. [792]

It would however seem that the term tanšūrah is not confined to the rallying-cries of the quarters of the cities, for I can recall the word being used in the Dathīnah area when tanšūrahs were performed over the grave of a man whose murder had been successfully avenged. It is a cry used also by the tribes¹⁷ in Ḥaḍramawt. [628]

Very similar to the Tamīmī tanšūrah quoted by Landberg¹⁸ is the tanšūrah of the 'Abid of Tarīm. The 'Abid have an organisation in many respects similar to that of the Masākīn with a headman (muḥaddam). Their tanšūrah runs :

بَنِي سَوَيْدَ الْغَلَابَةِ
كَمْ مِنْ قَبِيلِي ظَفَرْنَا بِهِ

« Banī Siwaid, the conquering,

How many a tribesman have we overcome. »

Landberg remarks that the verse he quotes is defective, if one must see a metre in it, but the first half-verse which he gives corresponds exactly in metre to the first half-verse of the tanšūrah of the 'Abid.

¹⁶ « The Drunken » might, at first sight, seem an odd term to apply to a Muslim saint, but the term of course is Sufistic, and implies that he was drunk with the ecstasy of the knowledge of God. Some names are much more curious. I was told that the 'Aṭṭās saiyids derived their name from a miracle performed by their ancestor who is said to have been heard to sneeze while still in the womb! 551

¹⁷ C. DE LANDBERG, *Ḥaḍramawt* (Leiden, 1901), p. 184.

¹⁸ Loc. laud.

QABR HÜD AND BİR BARHÜT

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preserved and cared for. The town with its solidly built, large houses looks well-kept and attractive. We had expected to see a great camp with tumble-down huts and certainly not a town with cupolas and mosques, with tall houses of many storeys with whitewashed roofs and high windows. In earlier times it was indeed different. Qabr Nebi Allāh Hūd has been the headquarters of a religious cult, belonging to and destined for Bedouins, dating from pre-Muḥammadan times. Wealth, amassed abroad, has been partly used to show gratitude to Allāh, the Giver. Thus, a full ten years ago, a rich member of the el-Kāf family left a large sum of money for the restoration of this sanctuary; only the cupola of the tomb is old, the other religious buildings being new. The tomb lies higher than the rest against the steep rock-wall. I will recall here the popular story of the Prophet Hūd, the man of God of pagan times, who called his people to repentance and conversion, yet, like many another prophet, was not honoured in his own country. He ended his earthly career in this place, hunted down by his enemies. Allāh opened the rock for him and his pursuers saw him no more. The faithful she-camel (the *nāqa*) that Hūd rode and the milk of which he drank died close by his master's grave. When Islām had penetrated into Ḥaḍramaut, the cult of the Prophet Hūd arose and the pilgrimage to his tomb was incorporated into that Faith.

Hūd must have been a very big man, for his grave is about 120 feet long. The *qubba* is built on the spot where his head is said to rest, the place where, also, the rock was cleft open. The building is in pure Ḥaḍramī style, simple and lovely. In the narrow ravine encircled by threatening, dark precipices and rude, brownish-black blocks of stone, this gay, white edifice with its beautiful simplicity and its sober ornamentation is like the voice of all that is finest and highest in man in a world of harshness and want. This voice, speaking in the eternal silence of this out-of-the-way, motionless corner of the world, is heard and understood even by us, the first Christian pilgrims from the West. We understand how the

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POPULATION

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form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

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792 though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

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619 The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

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463 The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

567 The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

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167 A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathiri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

DOMESTIC LIFE AND APPLIANCES

342 The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

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GOVERNMENT

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Of governmental administration as a whole, in spite of the comparative homogeneity of the region, there is none, in the usually accepted sense of the term. The tribal lords have no care for what are considered in Europe the duties of government. Education, police, and public works are left entirely to private initiative, and as a result the two last are almost entirely non-existent. Instruction alone flourishes, and that only among the Seyyids and townsmen. There are some schools for so-called primary, secondary, and higher instruction; in the two former the teaching is almost exclusively confined to language, grammar, and religion. The chief centre of higher instruction is at Seyyūn, where the Academy, known by the name Ribāt, is a sort of annexe to the Great Mosque; here there are about 100 students who receive free board and lodging and 300 outside students who pay fees of varying amounts. The teaching is confined to the intensive study of grammar, law, and theology, to the almost entire exclusion of the so-called modern sciences, astronomy (as interpreted by the Arabs) alone excepted. The study of medicine, among others, is entirely non-existent.

As for Law and Magistracy, the influence of the Seyyids is a powerful curb on any oppression by the Muqaddams or tribal lords, and in the Hadramaut there is a sufficiently independent magistrature. The Seyyids have the greatest interest in seeing that the Mussulman law is honoured and respected, because the law and religion are one: the decadence of religion would inevitably bring about the loss of that superstitious respect which the people have for them as descendants of the Prophet.

Each town or village of any importance has a Qādhi, with a sub-Qādhi for the country district round about. The Qādhis are nominated by the Muqaddams, but the latter consult the Seyyids and renowned savants before fixing on their choice; sub-Qādhis are nominated by the Qādhis. The Qādhis have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and base their decisions on the works of jurists of the Shafei rite. Judgements must be drawn up in writing and signed and sealed by the Qādhi who has delivered them, but can only be put into execution on authorization by the Muqaddam, who, however, uses his veto but rarely. The jurisdiction of the sub-Qādhis is limited to marriage and other acts of family life, the majority of the inhabitants of the country rarely having recourse to the judge in their other affairs. Differences between persons of the same family are in general adjusted by the Abu, and differences between persons belonging to different families by the Muqaddam. In the latter cases, failing accord, justice is settled

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TOWNS

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the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathiri. 561

(b) The principal towns of the Kathiri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn**, built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud; embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500. 346 [73] 443

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathiri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession. 765 792.

6. **Terim**, some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however, 361